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PANTHERS DEMAND JUSTICE



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MORE STORIES ON ASSASSINATION

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Exposes Karenga

Black Enigma

A West Coast Militant
Talks Tough

Ron Karenga of Los Angeles
Seen Using Fear of Violence
To Build Political Power

A Meeting With Gov. Reagan

By Byron K. Calame
Reporter for The Wall Street Journal

LOS ANGELES—Four years ago, mild-mannered Ronald Everett, the fourteenth child in a family of a poor Baptist minister, seemed well on his way to a comfortable place in the growing Negro middle class. He had just earned a master's degree in political science from the University of California at Los Angeles, and earlier he had been the first Negro to be elected student body president at a junior college here.

But then Mr. Everett dropped his "slave name" and became one of the most militant black nationalists in America. Today, he's Ron Karenga. (A Swahili word meaning "keeper of the tradition"), the leader of a tough-minded organization called US (as opposed to "them") that he founded in 1966. From a black desk in a black-appealed office in a one-story black building here, he talks of "black revolution" and urges Negroes to create their own distinctive black nation with its own distinctive Afro-American culture.

Charismatic and articulate, Mr. Karenga, 34, together with the late of Negro militant who is claiming increasing power, and national attention, two civil rights observers call him "one of the leading theoreticians in the national black power movement." Recently he has appeared on the same program with McGeehee Bundy of the Ford Foundation at a conference of educators at Yale and addressed the national convention of the Congress of Racial Equality. But his release leader, as well as his personal history, is a study in contrasts.

Sunday evenings will find him lecturing segregated "soul sessions" on a broad range of subjects, including his concept of pre-emptive self-defense. (Briefly, the concept holds that if you think you're about to be hit -- hit first.) "When the word is given, we'll see how tough you are," he writes in the Quotable Karenga, a small hand-book issued to followers. "When it's 'kum,' let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill,' let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up,' let's see how much you blow up."

Chilling as these statements may sound in the wake of the recent

burning, looting and killing in the Negro district of Cleveland, Mr. Karenga has a less militant side, one seldom seen by other whites or his Negro followers. He's a shrewd politician who works behind the scenes as a lobbyist for black nationalism -- by which he says does not mean black separation -- among both white officials and moderate Negro leaders. A few weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King, for example, Mr. Karenga slipped into Sacramento to arrange a meeting with Gov. Ronald Reagan, at the governor's request. The black nationalist also met clandestinely with Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin after Mr. King was killed.

Civil rights observers agree that Mr. Karenga is typical of many militants who talk of looting and burning but actually are eager to gather millions for self-organizing with the predominantly white power structure. "Ron has a strong personal interest in expending the fear of violence without actually using it," observes a Negro lawyer here,

TWO REVOLUTIONS

Mr. Karenga's shaven head, Go-go-like hairstyle and dark glasses (to say nothing of the body-guard at the door) make him appear rather burly and imposing. But his impression fades quickly in face-to-face conversation.

SPEAKING FOR THE OUTSIDERS

"He typifies the black militant leadership today," says C. Eric Lincoln, Negro author of several books on black power. "Their strength is in their ability to articulate the feelings of large numbers of people who don't belong to any group."

Mr. Karenga's prestige also rose after his open participation in an "operational" study steering committee, formed by the Black Congress only hours after Mr. King's death. The committee's main purpose was to prevent Negro rioting here, it reached beyond the membership of the Black Congress to include the relatively mild Urban League, the local representative of Mr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and leading moderate Negro clergymen.

A source who sat in on several committee meetings says Mr. Karenga's role was "crucial" (the phrase "operational only" was his,

JUST TRYING
TO BE BLACK

JUST TRYING TO
BE BLACK



for example). For the first time, the militant US leader was able to meet on an even footing with several moderate Negro leaders -- including one who had dismissed him only a few days before as "more of a nuisance than anything else." At the same time, Mr. Karenga was holding his secret meetings with Police Chief Reddin, as well as with other city officials.

CONTROLLING THE TROOPS

Significantly, while rioting erupted in many other cities after the assassination, Los Angeles remained calm. Chief Reddin has praised the special black congress committee, and other observers give Mr. Karenga in particular much credit. "Karenga played a very key role because he controls the military troops, so to speak," says one.

WINNING POWER

Today, when Mr. Karenga isn't making speeches around the country, he can usually be found at the US cultural center in south-central Los Angeles. There, US members answer the phone who "honor guard" (What's news?) and often use other Swahili phrases in conversation. Some wear "kubas," long-life garments that Mr. Karenga designed himself. Others wear red or green sweaters with Mr. Karenga's face emblazoned on the front. During a recent talk with a white interviewer, Mr. Karenga took telephone calls from around the country and dealt with a wide range of problems.

One call came from a member of the board of directors of the local anti-poverty program. At the time US members were helping to picket one of the program's training centers and there had been a fire-up on the picket line that morning. "We'd like to try to solve this at the political level first," Mr. Karenga told the caller. "There's some corruption over there, and the people are very angry about it." A few days later the anti-poverty board voted to suspend the training project's director and chief fiscal officer, pending an audit and review of the program.

Another caller was greeted in Swahili and informed that the young leader of a recently formed militant Mexican-American group was in jail. "Find out where he is and exactly what it takes to get him out," the caller was directed. "We

are going to try to help raise some money for bail." The jailed leader was soon free on bail.

A long-distance call requesting advice came from a leader of a militant organization of young Negroes in Chicago. "You gotta watch those politicians, man," Mr. Karenga warned the Chicagoan.

A 24-HOUR DAY

Such calls and conferences keep Mr. Karenga busy. One recent Monday he put in a 24-hour day that began at 5 a.m. with solitary study of Swahili, Zulu and Spanish in his two-bedroom home. It continued through five meetings and conferences, a filmed television interview and a 9 p.m. fight to a sixth meeting with San Diego black nationalists. That meeting ended at 1 a.m. and Mr. Karenga spent the night in San Diego. He calls the day "typical."

Mr. Karenga's wife, Nivoda, gave birth to their third child and second son in April. All three children have African first names. Nivoda, Karenga, who wears her hair in the "natural" African style, has written a Swahili primer for use in teaching children. The home is decorated in an African motif, and a favorite family meal is "nyama," an African dish made of chopped beef and vegetables.

The US leader is reluctant to discuss his personal finances or those of his organization, but there's no outward evidence to suggest that he's getting rich. He says he turned over all his speaking honorariums (which range up to \$1,000, a specialty in US). Some critics doubt this, however. The organization also makes its life through "commitments" from its members and donors from some whites and moderate Negroes, he says.

There are occasional breaks to Mr. Karenga's grueling pace. Sitting in his office, answering telephone calls and questions from an interviewer, the black militant is interrupted by an angry Negro boy of about five who rushes in his desk and greets him with the Swahili word, "mamama" -- a highly honorific title. Still, Mr. Karenga asks the boy, the son of an US member, what he is doing.

"Just trying to be black, man," the youngster replies, then dashes away.

Eulogy

Recently Carter and John Huggins gave names that have been black along with Malcolm X and other freedom fighters in the black liberation struggle. We are members of the Vanguard Party and respect you for all the things you did for the people. You gave your body, so that they could obtain their freedom. You died because your body was a gift to the people. You died because you had a strong love for black people.

But your death has not been in vain. Your death has given us a great example for our brothers and sisters in the black liberation struggle. You died because you had a strong love for black people.

The end is in sight for the pig power structure and the post shop operations that were kept your freedom alive.

From to you brother and in the words of the Communist Party: "Your death may surprise us but it is welcome if our battle has been enriched with one more brave and fearless man who has taken up our arms."

Barry Brown

FROM: "Karenga runs the Black Congress through force, intimidation and ignorance. They have held elections where Karenga had his men surround the building and then he would be made to tell them how to vote."

In meetings they have a 10 man filibuster. A bunch of Karenga's goons kept disrupting the ISU meetings so nothing could get done. Last week they kept them arguing for 3 days before they lost out."

"What about the United Brotherhood Crusade?" we asked. "It is organized from the Black Congress, US runs it." Sharrock Banks told of the killings: "Karenga is responsible because Karenga has stated that he is responsible for any actions of US members."

George F. Elmer, 22, gave himself up Monday on the advice of his lawyer. Larry J. Elmer, 31, gave himself up at the San Diego airport the same evening. Both were booked for murder and Larry was taken to USC medical center for treatment of a fresh gunshot wound in the shoulder. Both Elmer brothers are UCLA students and US members. They are out on \$55,000 bail for allegedly shooting an Orange County man last year and will go to trial on February 10. They have not yet been arraigned on the latest charges.

Rob Karenga was not available for comment and reliable informants say he is in San Diego. Things may look very different after Karenga has had his way.

In the meantime 3 Panthers (3 sisters and 6 brothers) are still in jail on conspiracy charges. The Panthers are asking for help in building their out. All contributions may be sent to: Black Panther Party, P. O. Box 3663, Compton, Calif. 90221.

The establishment assault on the Black Panther Party continued after the re-outing of two high potential UCLA students, both Panthers, John Huggins, 22, and Danny Carter, 25, shot down in the Campbell Hall lunchroom (old health sciences building) at about 7:40 p.m. Friday, January 17, 1969. A meeting of the Black Students Union had just concluded and people were getting ready to leave.

Last June's political assassination in the Ambassador Hotel happened the same way, with leaders leaving after the victory. An at-

tack, Ron Karenga is an intellectual who has advanced and promoted black culture in the ghetto through his personal acquaintance with Black Studies, the program he followed at UCLA. Black Studies was not a discipline during the years Ron studied there, but he managed to assemble a respectable substitute out of Political Science, Sociology, History, English and subjects in the African Studies Department.

The Friday (18) meeting can only be understood in the context of the vicious offensive waged by the Black Panthers and the ISU at San

Diego with objections that his qualifications were not up to UCLA standards. Adopting of subcommittee against the "prominent leadership," the students insisted that the head of the new department must have a PhD. (Ron Karenga has an M.A.) Chancellor Young had to yield.

A faculty member close to the Black Studies program said: "The US element did not seem interested in it as an academic program. They may have been more concerned with its impact on the community."

Friday at noon, UCLA's right-wingers held a rally to counteract the dangerous ideas expressed by Huggins Wednesday. The first speaker was an anti-communist alien who told how the communist took over everything "black in the old country," and promised the same thing over here.

Larry Johnson of Valley State called for a few punches in the "right place" from college athletes and said: "They talk of getting us up against the wall, we'll get 71136 up against the wall." CIA members, rally organizers, was roundly heckled by some SDS types and the guitar player was terrible.

A few hundred yards away, in Campbell Hall, the ISU meeting was starting. The subject of discussion was the Black Studies program. About 150 students attended the meeting which ended the way Malcolm X's last meeting ended. The tragic event that some very racist political implications.

Within four hours of the killings officers of the LAPD made use of the opportunity to strike a second stab at the ISU. A large number of cops descended on the White residence of John Huggins, arresting his young wife Erika, and 16 other persons. The police claimed that they had probable cause to arrest a Panther "traitor" for the assassinations. There was no clear and present danger, however, since Ron Karenga was 100 miles away in San Diego. The Panthers blame Karenga for the killings.

It started raining a short time after the police raided the Huggins residence on Friday evening. Panthers say officers of the LAPD tore the blanket off the Huggins two-week-old baby and would not let Erika wrap the child in it. She used her coat, when they reached the 71st street station, the looking officer insisted on searching the baby. Putting the child down, he said:

"If we find any marijuana in this coat we'll look the kid for possession." The baby was in jail for some time.

Twelve of the other arrested victims were booked on suspicion of conspiracy to commit assault with a deadly weapon and possession of black studies program at UCLA. The LAPD is making imaginative use of the conspiracy law. Their way of attacking victims is to use their imagination.

More 18th floor arrests are still in jail, unable to raise \$5,000 apiece for bail. Erika Huggins got out Saturday afternoon. She and the baby have gone back to New Haven with John Huggins' body. The funeral will be held there.

Saturday, David Hillard arrived from Oakland. Hillard had come from Oakland, he had come with an offer to L.A. to plan a fund-raising party for the Newton-Chambers Defense Fund. He walked into a press conference.

"The Black Panther Party is the target of the racist police," Hillard said and spoke sharply about Huggins' widow and the others being arrested. "They were not the murderers, but the murderers are still here."

"We have always taken precautions, but you can't stop assassinations. The 15 people who were arrested were armed to protect themselves against assassins. We do not relate to the police as our protectors. We don't expect them to defend us but if we know who did it we would cooperate with the police to see what they would do."

Hillard pointed out that there are "demies within the assemblies of black people themselves... This is the pattern that all revolutions follow. You don't live forever. At this point we need the Minister of Defense more than ever."

The Panthers are in contact with ISU members and other UCLA students who were in the Campbell Hall lunchroom at the time of the shooting. Police learned that two brothers, US members named Skinner, took part in the shooting. The Panthers issued a statement calling it "a political assassination by US organization, the white pigs killed Bobby Sutton, little black perceptive killed himself and John, the top nationalism is part and parcel of the pig power structure."

The community's reaction to the killing and violence charges aimed at US was first anguished and then surprised. One informed observer could not believe it. "It's sure it's not US. I don't see how Karenga could get involved in something like that. He is filling his pockets along with Walter Freeman."

Investigation revealed that Federal agents have gone to US, that Bremont is operating a string of gas stations in the ghetto for Standard Oil and the Bank of America, and that both Freeman and Karenga are to be major beneficiaries of the United Brotherhood Crusade \$5 million dollar fund raising now in progress. Both are members of the Community Advisory Council to help plan UCLA's new Afro-American Studies Center.

Margaret Wright has been a leading figure in the struggle for complete control of the schools. She called Mrs. Wright to find out the extent of community involvement in planning the Black Studies program at UCLA. She said there was none.

"We heard from the students that there was some kind of a banter. They said that the Community Advisory Board was trying to go over the heads of the students and had gone to the Chancellor."

"I don't know anything about the black studies program at UCLA, only what we heard once, when the students asked me to speak at a ISU meeting."

"I only got involved in a school when the students ask me to help. There wasn't very much friction at UCLA. The ISU is the closest to the area and there's been the same kind of friction."

Mrs. Wright is the head of the Black Community School Board and once took part in the Black Congress. She now works with an organization to plan a fund-raising party for the Newton-Chambers Defense Fund. He walked into a press conference.

Panther spokesman told the PRESS

LOS ANGELES PANTHERS AWAIT JUSTICE FOR "US" ORGANIZATION PIGS

assault fired a pistol at close range from behind. John Huggins fell dead, hit in the back by the 167 magnum bullet. Carter was fatally shot in the chest. Carter fell and everybody scattered. One student died of a wound. A passerby thought it was the "gorilla theater." Someone else saw four men running west from Carter Hall past the International building toward parking lot 5.

When police arrived 15 minutes later an eyewitness to the affray remained in the building. They closed Campbell Hall and interrogated the dozen or so people inside.

TV cameramen arrived and announced that "very little more than that is known at this point." About 6 p.m. to remove the bodies. While waiting for them to bring the bodies one news cameraman asked: "Are we going out to dinner after this. I'm working on an appetite. If they come out extra hungry I'll be extra hungry."

After the bodies were loaded to the van, police investigators held a press conference to Humanities 1300. The Free Press was excluded from the conference, but informants say the police were very careful about what they told newsmen. The FBI was present and police merely explained that none of the people who were questioned in the building were put under arrest.

UCLA observers describe "an oppressive aura of fear" among black students in recent weeks. All agree that there was a power struggle going on over selection of a director to control the new Afro-American Center.

UCLA was a source of power for Malcolm X. Ron Karenga even before he graduated from there 5 or 6 years ago. He became an ardent black nationalist, shaved his head, barbed wire came out of school. Karenga organized US, a black nationalist group, US became prominent in early summer 1966, when they were in the center of late magazine.

Karenga is not a street brother, although he has learned some street language just as he has learned Swi-

Francisco dialect. ThirdWorldism, and even later, when he joined the strike, and it is certain that black studies will come to the US eventually this year. The only question is how all important ones of shape and content. They will be controlled by the Black Studies Director when he is chosen. Whoever directs the program at UCLA will exert powerful influence over black studies programs all over California and there more than \$50,000 a year.

The Wednesday before his death John Huggins addressed a rally at Noyes Hall Park (UCLA's free speech area), he explained the purpose of the black studies program:

"What we need is a black studies program which teaches us what we need to know about racist America. When we say a black studies program we're dealing with real things with the survival of a race of people who have been brought to this country, brutalized and mis-educated. We need this information to take it into the communities."

"We are not against white teachers as long as we can control what is taught. We need an educational system that we can relate to. We're calling for Black students, Mexican American students and white students to unite, because you don't have any power either and are being used by the people who oppress you."

"We expect you black students to say 'Hell, but in the hand of ignorance if you are to regain your humanity, as the black students have had to do. We have two major enemies in this country, capitalism and racism."

A meeting was scheduled for that afternoon with Chancellor Young, the ISU and the Community Advisory Committee to discuss selection of the Black Studies Director. ISU asked Young to cancel the meeting, but the Chancellor met with Ron Karenga in the lounge room. They parted in optimistic agreement.

Thursday, at another meeting of the ISU, we are told that the Panther faction won. They elected a new coordinating committee, excluding US and the Advisory Council aside.

The list appeared the US can diddle for the Black studies direc-



EDITORIAL . . .

BY FRANK JONES
Deputy Minister Of Information

"Divide and conquer" is an axiom that oppressive power structures have utilized to maintain their dominance over the working class of people. We are now faced with a dilemma that could be of great consequence to the majority of Black peoples. Two members of the Black Panther Party have been assassinated by members of another Black organization, and now the Black community is waiting to see what will be done by both of the organizations involved in this situation.

If the Black Panther Party seeks immediate revenge for the loss of two revolutionary brothers, and the U.S. organization offers significant resistance, then we will have division among the Black segment of the population, and the repressive establishment will attempt to capitalize on this division. On the other hand if the Black Panther Party does nothing about the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, we may give the impression that the Party will tolerate such despicable acts with no attempt to avenge the injustice.

Malcolm X has said that when Black people have differences of opinion, these differences should be resolved in a closet so as to give no public display of disunity among Blacks. In the case of the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John the public is apparently aware that there is some disunity. Now we must take positive steps to avoid allowing this manifested disunity from becoming destructive to the Black Liberation Movement. In addition this must be done without giving a mistaken impression that the Black Panther Party will tolerate such injustices.

My first reaction was incorrectly one of revenge. I felt that if we took immediate steps to gain revenge we would demonstrate to the people that the Black Panther Party is indeed a powerful institution. My first inclination was to kill three or four members of U. S. in retaliation for Brothers Bunchy and John. I was surprised when our Chairman, Bobby Seale, and our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, failed to issue the order. Both Bobby and David immediately assessed the assassination as an attempt to invoke a reactionary response from the Party. They realized that the establishment would utilize any vindictive action by the Party as an excuse to inflict oppressive measures against the Party.

Their analysis of the situation proved to be correct. The arrest of 17 Panthers in Los Angeles immediately after the assassination, and the large collection of pigs around the National Office validated their assessment. When I left the National Office on the night of the assassination I spotted a carload of pigs within one half block of our National Office. This prompted me to drive around the area to survey the situation, and what I found was indeed revealing. Within a six block area from our National Office I spotted five or six pig vehicles. I guess that they were waiting for an incident so that they could claim that they were the victims of an "unprovoked attack." When Charles Bursey, Berkeley Captain, and I went back to the National Office later that night the pigs were gone. Our leaders had outfoxed (out-Panthered) them.

I can now see more clearly why Bobby and David reacted as they did. Improper action by the Party may have caused a premature confrontation between the Party and the establishment. But even more important is the fact that by not taking immediate reactionary steps our leaders prevented the chasm of disunity from widening. If we had implemented retaliatory action against U. S., many of the innocent and improperly led members of that organization would have suffered from the wrath of the Panther.

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The Black Panther Party appreciates the contributions of all revolutionary people and will attempt to publish all relevant material that is submitted to the Black Panther news paper. THE BLACK PANTHER is an instrument of political education and is published with the intent of countering the misinformation that often appears in the mass communication media.

THE BLACK PANTHER is not to be considered an outlet for emotional outburst of irrelevant profanity. This is not to imply that all profanity will be eliminated from THE BLACK PANTHER, but to inform contributors that all material must correspond with the primary purpose of the paper — to educate the oppressed.

Our leaders instead have decided to make the establishment work against itself. If the assassination was indeed inspired by the establishment in an effort to create an inflammatory situation this has failed, and now the establishment must prosecute its own agents, or admit the perverted type of racist activity in which it is engaged. The plot to create division has failed because the Panther leadership is aware of the type of treachery that the establishment will employ to protect its wealth and status.

The Black Panther Party will not allow any exterior force or interior corruption to create disunity among Black people. If the leaders of U. S. or any other organization are going to allow members of their organization to be used by the establishment then the Black Panther Party will expose those leaders as pawns in the hand of the oppressive establishment. The Party realizes that the rank and file of most Black organizations have a sincere interest in the Black Liberation Movement, and that only the leadership of establishment oriented organizations is corrupt. With this in mind it is the duty of the Party to make the masses aware of those leaders whose only goals are ones of self gratification.

Improper leadership is often reflected in the improper action of members of that leader's organization. The rank and file adopt the attitudes of its leaders and act on the premises that are advanced by the leaders. Whenever the rank and file act in an uncomplimentary manner, the leaders of a righteous organization will immediately criticize those actions. A case in point is the Black Panther renouncement of the acts of opportunistic banditry by some of its former members. When a leader does otherwise it can be assumed that that leader does not have the best interest of the Black community at heart.

After the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, the leadership of U. S., notably Ron (Karenga) Everett, made no statements whatsoever, and then later it has been reported that Karenga made statements criticizing the Black Panther Party. These statements were all of a nebulous nature and were based entirely on subjectivism which is an intrinsically illogical form of comment.

Because Karenga has made no statements of censure it seems safe to assume that he is in agreement with the action of his followers -- possibly he gave the order to have Bunchy and John assassinated. If so, Karenga, too, must pay for this atrocity.

The Black Panther Party has given its initial indication that the murder of Panthers will not go unpunished. The Party was instrumental in the arrest of the two alleged assassins. The Los Angeles pig department tried to pretend that there was no evidence on which to indict anyone, but our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, showed them so much evidence that they could not find a suitable excuse for ignoring it. The pigs are always hesitant to arrest and prosecute their own agents. Now they are going to be forced to prosecute and convict some of their own.

The Black Panther Party has effectively prevented the establishment from dividing the Black Liberation Force, and at the same time, the Party has forced the establishment to start the prosecution of its own agents. The Black Panther Party will react to pigs and the pigs agents in the same manner. Anyone who allows the establishment to use them as an agent to disrupt the liberation movement is in fact a pig and will be brought to justice.

Let the action of the Black Panther Party serve notice to all. When man deals with man, justice is a goal. But when pigs deal with Panthers, justice is inevitable.

LETTER

January 20, 1969

Brothers and Sisters:

I went to school at UCLA and John Huggins and some other members of the Party. John impressed me greatly with a serious and beautiful Black man of great dedication, and I admired his efforts to help Black people.

I want to be truthful in saying that even at the present time, affected as I am by his death, I have not yet reached the point of dedication that I believe necessary to be a true Black Panther. I am reading, however, and trying more now than ever before to throw off the shackles of middle-class "hippie-chop" nationalism and accept the true REVOLUTIONARY goals.

Please, let it be said the John Huggins died "giving birth" to revolutionary thought in AT LEAST ONE Black mind.

Lillian C. Joseph

FEMALE PANTHER TORTURED

Juan Bird was taken into custody at 9:00 P.M. on January 17, 1969 after several shots had been fired at her. She was beaten and tortured all night and morning. At 1:00 P.M., January 18, 1969, she was brought before Judge Tyler of the criminal court of New York where she was held as a material witness to approximately 10:30 P.M. the following day (after 25 hours of detainment) she was arraigned on the following charges: 1. Attack with the intent to commit murder and 2. attempted murder.

Juan appeared in court as she had many apparent injuries: swollen eye, severely bruised forehead, swollen lip, and numerous cuts and bruises.

Juan Bird is 17 years old and a student nurse at Bronx Community College. A brother, Dr. Leonard, was in the 10th precinct along with his father, to argue about the safety of Juan Bird. For this, he was promptly arrested. He was arraigned along with Juan in right court with counterparts in criminal murder and both were placed under \$25,000 bond.

COMPLETE STORY IN NEXT ISSUE

OFF THE PIGS



FOR A REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

The Minister of Education



the only culture worth keeping is the revolutionary culture . . .

Our culture must not be something that the enemy enjoys, appreciates, or says is attractive. It must be repelling to the slave master. It must smash, shatter and crack his skull, crack his eyeballs, open and make water and gold dust run out. Because the only culture worth keeping or that will be kept by black people is a revolutionary culture. Culture may be defined as the total creation of a people. Everything black people do, our food, songs, dances, music, art, literature, stories, poems, paintings, plays, speech, talk, kisses, embraces, speeches, and clothes. Our black faces must be used in

our revolutionary culture. All our energies, our dreams, our will, our total ways must be used to further the revolution through which we will attain our freedom, justice, and the land and the bread which we so desperately need. Whenever the settler, the master, the owner, a Kennedy, Johnson, Rockefeller or Romney talks about us, black people and our ways and attempts to praise us, that is placing our Black consciousness into the milky way of racist America — their total ways, their culture is not revolutionary. It is stagnant — counter-revolutionary, regressive and murderous. The black men that Mayer Alston praises are either fools, fools, or black men who are being deceived, who do not have a revolutionary culture.

A revolution involves the total people. It needs all the energies of the people, requires all of our attention if it is to successfully stand. Therefore it involves the total ways of the people, hence the culture, and therefore our culture must be revolutionary, which by definition is anti-white, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, against the racist dogs, Landon Johnson, lay on one for revolution, or revolutionary culture, he has no use for change

which is freedom. The proof is the Vietnam war. Revolution is change, means freedom, and the American honkey, the American government nationally, statewide and locally, does not want change, does not want desire, and has no use for revolutionary culture, change or freedom for black people. The proof is the murder of Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara, and Bobby Hutton. Martin Luther King stood for change. Kennedy, McCarthy, Johnson and Humphrey do not want change, they want reform. They have no desire for our freedom, they want our votes and our courageous black youth to die in Vietnam fighting colored people, who never call us "nigger" or made us work in plantations as Johnson's Lady Bazzard does. Black people want change. We want change-revolution, we want freedom, we want, and will have the right to determine our destiny. The Vietnamese want change, the Chinese want change, the African wants change, the Indian wants change, the Cuban demands change, the Latin American demands change, the Puerto Rican wants change, demands freedom and is picking up the gun for freedom's sake. All people of color in the world want an end to the robbery of their countries and communities by the racist, plagiarist, fascist dog American white man. Therefore the total Vietnamese people north and south are waging a war of liberation against racism, against corruption and exploitation. The Vietnamese have a revolutionary culture, a fighting culture, a changing culture and a cultural spirit that demands change in the form of freedom, justice and equality not between Vietnam and the U.S., but between Vietnam and the world. If we are to be free, to be ourselves, to black, decide who we will elect to an office, and how he or she will function if we want our young black men to resolve in the U.S. Because America is the black man's battleground, if we want to determine who teaches our children at school and which days of the year will be sacred to us, that is the holy days which in the Honkey's country is called holiday. If we want this kind of freedom, if we demand these kind of changes which are parcels in a real revolution, then we must have a revolutionary culture, our songs must be about change, when we do the razor stroke, it must be across a pig's throat, so our dances must be about change. The Impressions say, "We're a Winner," just do what your black leaders tell you to, "Come we're movin' on up, Our paintings must show piles of dead businessmen, bankers, lawyers, scientists, congressmen, farmers, spinners, etc. etc. being blown up in action, dynamite, night and day, our music, rhythm and blues, jazz, spiritual music, want burn the conditions of the whites who dare to listen to it, like Humphrey, a song called "Listen Here," where you hear actual screams coming from a Black Saxophone,

Those are the battle cries of mad, crazy black men, and the screams are coming from the honkey's throat as he and his wife are strangled to death, and robbed, looted, then set afire, for change. Because we are changing, we are deciding that freedom means change, changing from the slaves, the cowards, the boys, the fools, the clowns, coons, spooks of the 50's, 40's, 30's, into the wild, courageous, freedom fighting, revolutionary black nationalists of the 60's and the coming 70's are years of dynamite, black power for all of the third world, for all people of color in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the black islands of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Middle East, we Africans, Asians, Indians, and Spanish-speaking people held captive in the cities, in the cotton field, tomato fields, grape fields, we farm workers, school dropouts, black, brown, red, and yellow workers, and unemployed, we are realizing we must have change, we must be free, we must have a revolution if we are to survive. Johnson does not want us free, Kennedy does not want us free, Rockefeller does not want us free, Alton does not want black people to be free, McCarthy does not want us free, No American mayor, senator, police or fireman wants black people free, Ray Brown was sentenced to five years in jail and \$2000 fine in racist Louisiana. Huey Newton, our Minister of Defense, is in jail for defending himself. Martin Luther King was murdered because he was working to set black people free. Our great Prince Malcolm X was assassinated because he was working, fighting to set us free. All our black heroes — Africa's Patrice Lumumba died to set black people free. More than one million colored children in Vietnam have been murdered by the bombs that American whites dropped on the Vietnamese because the Vietnamese are fighting to be free.

Our energies, and all our feelings must be used to free ourselves. The police fear brothers and sisters who wear naturals, but the natural is not a gun, it is black, beautiful, but we need change, we need freedom, we need black power and political power comes through the barrel of guns. We change, we are changing. We are changing from slaves to men fighting to be free. We are slaves today in prison, in jail, on the streets, in our houses, huts, tents, shacks, schools, on the low jobs available to us. We are slaves this country. We must struggle, we must have change, change that will be the throw out of oppression, that will free us, and the spreading of our nations and little states, black men, black people, colored people, all America, must change, who? All Americans, through culture, must be free, to be revolutionary, to be free, freedom, ever victorious, dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pig everywhere.

Minister of Education
Black Panther Party
George Murray



With a deep hatred for the enemy a People's Army fighter practises to perfect his combat skill.

BOLIVIANS FIGHT

Beijing, December 20, 1968. -- Bolivian peasants fought, slayed and drove away the pro-U.S. dictatorship bastion in Sucre on December 13, 1968, according to a report from La Paz.

Barrington, whom to deliver a speech in Sucre, a town approximately 50 miles to the northeast of La Paz, in a vain attempt to justify the agriculture and cattle unified tax designed to exploit the peasants, he was forced and stayed by the angry peasants on his way. Barrington finally got into his car under the protection of his bodyguards and police and left Sucre in dismay.

The agriculture and cattle unified tax imposed recently by the pro-U.S. dictatorship regime of the Bolivia has met with strong opposition of the vast masses of peasants. The tax is a new measure of exploitation aimed at shifting the burden of the present economic crisis onto the peasants, impoverishing them and robbing them of their land.

RED BOOK BEST SELLER

BEIJING (1968) -- More than 540 million copies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's little red book have been published and distributed in the last three years, according to an official Chinese report. During the same period, more than 90 million copies of youth poems and 100 million sets of the selected works of Chairman Mao have been printed.

The printing plant was said to have completed more than 350 Chinese printed leaves since the advent of the Great Proletarian Revolution three years ago.

JAPANESE STUDENTS FIGHT AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Beijing, December 21 (continuation) -- The Japanese University students struggle against the rule of U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the decadent bourgeois educational system is gaining momentum, according to a Tokyo news agency report.

In Tokyo, progressive students of Jochi University have recently staged a strike and occupied the buildings of the University, including its head office. The students demanded that the University authorities reject their unjustifiable decision on suspending from school those students who participated in the struggle against the expansion of the U.S. Military base in Thailand and that the students should have the freedom to engage in political activities. In collusion with the Japanese government, the reactionary University authorities called in on December 21, seven hundred armed police to suppress the students brutally in an attempt to drive the students out of the buildings.

However, in determined defiance, the students heroically defended themselves and hit back with stones and bottles. Within one hour, the armed police unceremoniously arrested 52 students. The ruthless police suppression of progressive students evoked tremendous indignation among the mass masses of students, who, leading the mass, two thousand students rushed to the University and staged a protest rally at its playground, strongly condemning the Japanese government and the University authorities for their crimes. Students of Tokyo University and Meiji Gakuin University who are also on strike joined the rally and encouraged the students of Jochi University to unite closely and

persist in struggle. The protest rally lasted for more than five hours and ended in triumph.

Progressive students of Osaka University recently occupied and blatted one of the University buildings in protest against the unjustifiable punishment of students by the University authorities. The students have frustrated the sabotage by the Miyamoto Revisionist clique in the Japanese Communist Party and persevered in their strike since mid-October.

In June this year, the patriotic students of Osaka University participated in anti-U.S. Demonstrations against the use of Pearl Harbor by the U.S. Armed Forces. The reactionary University authorities unceremoniously punished three students on the pretext that "they disturbed order". The students put forth a stern demand that the punishment be waived by the University authorities, but this demand was rejected. For this reason, the students blatted the University building and erected barricades at its entrance with desks and chairs.

The reactionary University authorities, colluding with the Miyamoto revisionist clique, tried to deceive some students into opposing the progressive students. However, their plot fell through. At a recent meeting, the students severely denounced the University authorities and the revisionists who were driven out of the meeting like frightened rats.

1,500 students of Osaka University held a meeting on the afternoon of December 18. They dragged the University's president to the meeting, severely denounced his reactionary administration and pressed for their just demands.



FATAH

Jaffa, December 14, 1968 -- The Palestine National Liberation movement has declared that the Palestinian people have understood from their own experience that in their struggle for the liberation of Palestine, final victory will surely belong to them so long as they rely on themselves and on the rifles in their hands and perseverance in their armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and Israeli aggressors.

This statement was made in a recent interview with a correspondent of the Iraqi newspaper AL-DUMURIYYAH, which published it today.

Arabat reiterated the Palestinian people's determination to reject all plans of so-called "peaceful solution" and to carry their armed struggle through to the end. Emphasizing the prewar nature of the Palestinian people's liberation cause, Arabat said: "We are in need of still more steadfastness and further mobilization of our potentials for the battle."

Arabat denounced U.S. imperialism for using imperialist states for imperialist wars. In its criticism of the role of the Palestinian leadership and the aggressors against the Arab people, it warned imperialist great powers of their harm for prolonging the status of Israel's occupation of countries, North imperialism, especially Israel, in resisting, armed help, world imperialism in carrying out its counter-revolution and war against the Arab nation," he said.

Arabat also denounced William McGowan, special envoy of U.S. imperialism, for his recent congressional tour of the middle east.

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

By Huey P. Newton
Minister Of Defense



In response to the Mulford Gun Bill, Minister of Defense Huey Newton wrote a statement which Panther Chairman Bobby Seale delivered on the steps of the Capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The statement is as follows:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature, which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war on genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people, who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women,

the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a tread that leads inevitably to their total destruction.



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CUBAN REVOLUTION TEN YEARS OLD

(Editor's Note: On New Year's Day in 1959, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and their victorious guerrilla army stride into Havana. They drive before Fulgencio Batista, the ruthless dictator who had been the prime object of the political and military movement led by Fidel. They are on their way to the Dominican Republic en route to Spain.)

For the bearded men (barbudos) and their female companions, the march into Havana was both an end and a beginning. It was the end of a period of armed struggle for power, a fight launched on July 26, 1953, with an attack on one of Batista's army barracks. And it was the beginning of a new age — the ongoing Cuban revolution in which was to take steps toward the construction of communism, the development of socialist man and the destruction of U.S. imperialism throughout the Americas.

Fidel Castro was, in many ways, typical of Havana university students. He came from a wealthy family. He was active in following student politics. He had little to do with the Communist Party. He got a law degree and the city won the right to be called "Doctor."

In 1952, Fidel ran for congress on the ticket of a left-of-center bourgeois political party, but he didn't win. In the same year, Fulgencio Batista, who had headed an authoritarian government in Cuba on previous occasions, took power by a coup d'etat, ousting a constitutionally elected reform-minded president.

As the Batista government assumed an overtly dictatorial form, Fidel gathered 125 friends, most of them students or recent graduates, for an armed attack on Fort Moncada barracks in Oriente province. The army easily repelled the attack, killing and wounding dozens. Fidel was jailed, but as a member of the "high bourgeoisie," he avoided the possible death sentence. At his trial, he gave his now-famous "History Will Absolve Me" speech, in which he outlined his program for political and social reform based on the social democratic Constitution of 1940.

Fidel got a prison sentence, but he was released during an amnesty in 1955 and went to Mexico via the United States. In the U.S., he made contact with Latin American men and women in exile from Batista and from a dozen other despots. Batista was well known for his repressive policies and his illegitimacy, and Fidel was able to convince the exiles — many of whom were experienced bourgeois politicians — of the need for armed struggle.

With money and pledges for more, Fidel went to Mexico, accompanied by some recruits, including Camilo Cienfuegos, a pitcher for the San Francisco Seals. Camilo, who died during the guerrilla war, is the most famous martyr of the Revolution.

In Mexico, Fidel had two very important men. One was Ernesto Che Guevara, an Argentine-born doctor who had traveled throughout the continent and who had a keen political and strategic sense about the impending struggle. The other was General Alberto Bayo, a Spanish socialist officer who served with the anti-fascist guerrilla movement in Morocco in the 1930's.

Under Bayo's direction, Fidel, Che and the band of men and women they got together went to organizing and training men.

Fidel was arrested by the Mexican authorities, but he was released. They sought money and purchased a 1962 two-seater Cessna. The Grumman, so named by its original owner in Texas (Grumman was the maker of the duty rig of the Communist Party of Cuba).

The trip from Mexico to Cuba had weather and time on its side. But the long sea crossings of the first, without success. When the first took on a promise to Cuban President, Dec. 2, 1958, there were a lot of men about. But Batista's men

spotted the yacht and engaged the men and women immediately in armed combat. Only 12 survivors made it into the protective cover of the Sierra Maestra mountains.

The next two years of Cuban history — 1957 and 1958 — are fraught with mystery and contradictions. The guerrilla army, under the leadership of Che Guevara, engaged in continual harassment of Batista's army, while undermining the national network of transportation and communications. Every effort was made to win the support of the people in the countryside, to promote defections from Batista's army, to carry on political education. The guerrilla army grew. Batista's army was largely inept to deal with the struggle in the countryside — it was not trained in counter-insurgency and there were no U.S. advisers. And the people supported the guerrillas, who tactically tried to apply revolutionary principles in the field.

One of Che's biggest victories was not against Batista forces, but was a pact made with another guerrilla band, the Escambray Front, largely under the direction of William Morgan, a North American ex-Marine and soldier of fortune. The Escambray units joined under the single banner of Fidel's 26th of July Movement in 1958.

Meanwhile, Fidel was carrying on a very delicate task of building a political movement that was broad-based. Probably, he could not have built such a movement had his program been clearly developed and labelled as the revolutionary-communist program it is today. Fidel got support in the cities from men and women of all ages, in all classes, for it was in the city that Batista's crimes were most visible. It was there that the torture and death (20,000 murdered), the corruption, the gangsterism and the decadence were most visible.

Even U.S. corporations gave money to Fidel, while liberals in the State Department and the CIA agreed that Batista had to go. Fidel was an unknown character, and since he appeared pretty much like any bourgeois reformer to the spies who checked him out, Washington was unconcerned.

For that matter, Fidel's political revolution, the elimination of Batista and the institution of bourgeois democracy — did not threaten U.S. interests.

Cuba's Communist Party, known as the People's Socialist Party, originally saw Fidel as an ally, and their support for him even after armed struggle in the Sierra began was minimal. In mid-1958, a high-ranking Communist Party official, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, met with Fidel in the hills and from that moment on, despite some internal disputes, the Communists gave full support to the 26th of July Movement, eventually submerging the party in the Movement. Carlos Rafael today commands great respect and responsibility in the revolutionary government, though other old-time Communists, notably Amador Llanusa, are doing common labor as political prisoners.

Of course, Fidel Castro and his comrades were fighting for far more than a political revolution. The struggle of the "scum" was not for which was fought alongside them was a struggle for sweeping social change. After the triumphant march into Havana in 1959, the contradictions of class that Fidel had been in to put apart. He allowed free enterprise and capitalism to exist, but the Cubans sought a new social order.

Seven revolutionaries came Cuba could not have escaped from U.S. money and capital. The industrialists, however, to the extent that the revolution was a success, which the Cubans have never allowed to occur, as it was in the hands of the liberals in Washington. Havana's economy, in some, is not and you get to see.

In Cuba, with the political and social revolution fully consolidated, and the social conditions largely eliminated, the political and economic conditions could begin.



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A Showdown in Angola

Angola, Zambia

The armed struggle in Angola has reached an unprecedented point. The guerrillas now claim control over two-thirds of the country. Their "rule" has even won the support of some under their control, including Mexico and Cuban Cubans — which I covered in six weeks.

The Portuguese have no support from the villagers and have stopped foot patrols in the guerrilla-held areas which they wisely regard as "danger zones."

Even the use of motor vehicles is becoming a thing of the past since the Portuguese are bushes. When they do travel, their convoys are at least 50 vehicles strong and covered by armed helicopters.

MPLA

The Portuguese admit that since 1965 they have been confronted with more powerful and well-trained guerrilla forces.

Since the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) started the active armed struggle in 1965, four regions have been established in Angola.

The first region covers the provinces of Luanda, Zaire, Uige and Cuando Norte; the second the Cabinda enclave and the third region Moçambique and Cuando Cubango provinces. The fourth region Uanda and Malange provinces.

There are the time of 15 Angolan provinces where fighting is going on.

PLANS

Whatever future plans the Portuguese might have for Angola, the truth is that the guerrillas are sure to win regardless of how long the Portuguese hold on.

They would not have held on for so long had it not been for the support they obtained from NATO countries.

The MPLA guerrillas have a fighting morale which no amount of expert propaganda or modern arms could match.

By motivating the masses, the people have pledged to fight until they are victorious.

CONTRAST

Portugal cannot expect to win because she has no knowledge of the place from where the fighting is being conducted.

In contrast the guerrillas know the countryside, entry and escape routes, the possibilities of quick maneuvers, hiding places and have the total support of the people.

However, guerrilla fighting does not afford us used the opportunity for complete victory.

One of the first steps of warfare is the growth and development of the guerrilla force until it acquires the characteristics of a regular army — units, uniforms, organization, discipline, etc.

GOALS

Only then will the guerrillas be ready to deal final powerful blows to the enemy and achieve victory.

Triumph in the revolutionary process of Angola would

surely be the product of a regular army, even though its origins would be in the guerrilla army.

The Angolan guerrillas are now establishing a regular army.

Since June the Portuguese stopped using helicopters to patrol the borders of Angola.

Thirty-five helicopters have been sent to the Portuguese by South Africa.

Even now these helicopters miss Angola's Cuando Cubango Province from Southwest Africa.

Some of the soldiers fighting against the guerrillas are South African.

However, both bombers and helicopters have proved ineffective in dealing with the guerrillas.

Usually the Portuguese bomb at random, concentrating on burning the bush in the hope of "uncovering" the guerrillas.

FAILURES

But this tactic has failed and with the coming of the rains they will be forced to apply other tactics.

The Portuguese cannot expect to win through bombings. They have to meet the guerrillas on the ground.

The fact that the Portuguese have been forced to abandon foot patrols and rarely use motor transport is a clear indication that their morale is suffering.

It also shows that they are slowly losing the war and admitting their losses through their actions.

JEOP

As we drove on the deserted sandy road past the "check point" into guerrilla-controlled areas of Moxico Province, heavily armed guerrillas came running from different directions of the surrounding thick forest and clustered around the Jeep.

All the new arrivals, including the guerrilla leader and President of MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, and some of his top officials, who were going to open the first conference inside Angola since the active armed struggle started in 1966, respected the instructions of the guerrillas.

On the way to Hanoi one conference camp after abandoning the Jeep, we passed many wrecked shops and villages raised to the ground by Portuguese soldiers.

Despite their having had their homes burned, the villagers have happily settled in "President camps" under the supervision of the guerrillas.

CAMPS

At these villagers' camps we were greeted by spear-wielding men and hoe-wielding women expressing their confidence in victory.

With support from the rural population and only MPLA has been so successful in its political campaigns that guerrillas have for a long time now been trained inside Angola itself.

Becoming a guerrilla has now become the number 1 ambition among the youth. Even the youngest children are growing up with a revolutionary spirit.

So many volunteers have been turning up to join the



ANGOLAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

guerrillas that since late last year, they have been finding difficulties in arming them all.

CADRES

"The political-military training of cadres is a sure guarantee for the development of the armed struggle on firm foundations," said Commander Lusanda Kwanza, at Hanoi 2 base camp when I asked him why most of the guerrillas were teenagers.

The deeper we went into Angola the denser the population became and the more organized the people were. At guerrilla and President camps, people have established co-operative gardens, cassava, rice, tomatoes, onions and other vegetables are grown.



Angola on the west coast of Africa

"The Spirit Of The People is Greater Than The Man's Technology"





BLACK PANTHER CAUCUSES

EXPOSÉ . . . 1969

We, the Black Panther Caucuses of the Union Movement — the Vanguard of Labor — will expose the true nature of G.M., Ford, Chrysler; we will put the sheets from the second largest pig power structure in this or any other racist nation. (The first is due for this AWARD FOR RACISM in the U.S. government.) At the General Motors Corp., a G.M. supervisor said, quite, if you have the right attitude — a U.S. diploma, you can be a foreman, unquote. TRANSLATION: (1) You must possess a racial attitude. (2) Be anti-black. (3) Be a talentless nigger — the foreman is always trying to kick the workers. The meaning of RIGHT ATTITUDE for the so-called Negro foreman is variable. Two and Three are self-explanatory and number 1 clearly states that you are niggers first, bosses last. Now, students, if you all understand what I mean by the RIGHT ATTITUDE, I now pronounce you G.M. foremen!

(The following excerpts are taken from a statement entitled, ALLIANCE FOR LABOR ACTION, issued by the UAW and Teamsters.)

"The Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) will devote its efforts and contribute its resources affirmatively and constructively to the millions of unorganized, strengthening collective bargaining and dealing with CRITICAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.

DECLARATION OF INTENT

"The labor movement is at a crossroad. It must subject itself to honest self-searching and self-evaluation. It must free itself from complacency and self-congratulation. It must acquire a sense of renewal and dedication to social progress. It must free itself of old attitudes and habits and demonstrate the willingness, the capability, and the commitment to make fundamental changes in its policies that respond to the realities of a rapidly changing world.

"In this time of crisis, dynamic and responsible labor organizations must contribute leadership and provide teamwork toward the continual advance and protection of the welfare of working people and must work together in the community in the common effort to find answers to the urgent problems of the whole of our society.

"The plight of the farm workers is intolerable. Denied the protection of law and exploited by the huge corporate farm owners, these workers need active and loyal support and assistance to build a union organization if they are to achieve elementary dignity and justice.

"Our cities are in crisis. Poverty casts its shadow over the total society. Unemployment remains a threat to the general welfare. Urban blight and decay

out of the care of our cities, millions of families live in slums with decent housing beyond their economic reach.

"The concept of racism is still unshared. Whether civil war nor a police state is an acceptable alternative. There is another way . . . a massive assault by all men of good will and of all races and creeds against bigotry and against social and economic injustice.

"We need to remove the economic barriers and all forms of discrimination that deny a child or youngster opportunity for maximum growth and development.

"We need to reorganize the economics of hospital and medical care to check the skyrocketing cost and make modern, high quality, comprehensive health care available to all the people as a matter of right.

COMMUNITY LINKS

"Join with other groups in the community in helping to organize community unions so that the working poor, the unemployed and the underemployed may have the opportunity of participation, of self-organization and self-determination in dealing effectively with their problems.

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ACTION

"Cooperate with other concerned community groups to promote and support activities at the national and local level:

"To expand educational opportunities to facilitate the growth and development of each child and youth to his maximum capability, including free university education, unrestricted by economic, racial or other such barriers.

"To join with others in a massive effort to help rebuild and rehabilitate America's urban areas by the full use of advanced technology, new materials and methods and by enlisting the maximum and meaningful participation of the people of the inner city in all aspects of this urgent task so that decent, adequate housing can be made available and put within the economic reach of America's low-income families."

PURPOSE OF THE ALLC.

"We must educate the working people to the political aspect of the U.S.W. and other unions have on their social and economic lives.

"We must gather the masses in a revolution to throw out the bosses leaders — by democratic elections or any means necessary.

"We have allowed ourselves to become part and parcel of the exploitation of nonworking people by simply remaining quiet and passive. We must, after dealing with the pigs, give all the power to the people as stipulated in the International By-Laws and local By-Laws of UAW and other unions.

To the pigs, go the hell!

• Kenny Horan, Director HX, UAW, June 1964
Fremont, Calif.

POWER OF THE PRESS

This is to the dissemination principle of the world and the racist pig power structure.

Every week The Black Panther Party produces a paper, that spreads from California to Africa and its primary function is to serve as an organizing tool for Black people and all other oppressed people throughout the world.

Our paper is so important that it is an absolute necessity that the information we circulate within our paper, reach the brothers in the street, those that are discriminated with the racist, imperialistic government. This also pertains to hipsters and the youths that are opposed to the decadence of this society and of most importance, to lift the people to an awareness.

The pigs don't want you to read anything that the Black Panther Party produces. This especially relates to our paper's worldwide circulation. This phenomenon has occurred because we write about the evils of this society, how the pigs treat our people, how they trick us into believing that Black Capitalism is the answer, etc. The author of Black Capitalism is none other than crony-rick Nixon, the 37th punk of the United States. The power structure doesn't want you to read this stuff, because they are afraid that when the people finally realize what's happening, they will say, "Up against the wall, you thief, scoundrel, rapist, murderer. We come for what's ours!" That is what they don't want you to do. Now in essence, Black Capitalism means Black pigism. They don't even want you to read the truth of the political assassination that occurred two weeks ago in UCLA's campus. The incident involved two true revolutionaries, Minister "Jaggy" Carter and John Maguire.

Last week we shipped papers to our chapter in New York, on a Friday morning via United Air Lines, which took at the most, eight hours. The pigs held our papers until this past Monday. That's only one example of the hell we receive, from the pig power structure.

A newspaper can be used for many purposes. We use it primarily for two reasons: to give political consciousness to the masses and as an organizing tool. We believe that you, the people, will gather together and organize. We must begin to understand that once the people see the validity in our program, it will be easier to organize. First we must begin to relate to concrete issues that are

very basic and practical for us. The new paper platform and program outlines the most practical necessities for us.

The pigs don't like for us to write about their police bootlickers, namely: Jurgens Marshall, Sen. Stacks and Rod Harrison, which is only because first, it is impossible to be part of the solution and to collude with part of the problem. The racist doesn't want you to know about crime syndicates who sit in the attorney's office with the pigs, while making deals with your life, as you are off to Alcatraz for a lifetime, for sure, we're going to expose all the Tom's for what they are and let you, the people, deal with them. Pigs are trying to maintain and buy us out, as though to say, he can square up with the FBI. I wonder how Karpis, Leroy Jones and not to mention all the black-top conegadgets.

The pigs are so slick that they use trickery to an attempt to destroy our circulation. They do this by having brothers with white faces wearing black masks to turn, by physically take our papers from some of our brother stores while making the papers in the Black community.

These are some of the things Black people need to know. The white man won't print the truth, everything that the racist writes, is good for him, yet bad for us. He talks about the war in Vietnam, which is bad for us. He talks about money, which we don't receive. He gets all the benefits, which is good for him.

Those were only two examples of his everyday pigish ways, but I am sure that you would only need a second to think of the millions of atrocities that he has forced upon us.

The Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and our Chairman Bobby Seale realized the importance and significance of our paper so much that they use to ride buses to sell our papers in the Black community.

At this point, our paper has grown so large that it has put fear into the racist, swarthy pig power structure. And in conclusion The Black Panther Party and the Black community with their consciousness being raised to that of a revolutionary principle will continue to stop all intimidation by racist power structure.

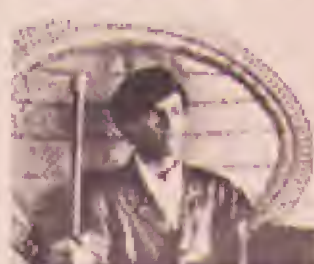
All Power to the People
Distribution Manager
Vincent Murray



OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE



1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, or whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them to absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



FREE HUEY NOW GUNS BABY GUNS



HUEY NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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(Position Open)

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to the Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings, of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first and must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10 program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each sub-section, Section, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expect a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only officer personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadets.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives do not desert them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

**HELP
NEEDED
BLACK PANTHER
PAPER
NEEDS:**

TYPISTS,
 WRITERS,
 TYPESETTERS,
 STENOGRAPHERS,
 PHOTOGRAPHERS,
 AND OFFICE
 EQUIPMENT.

Give Your Time And Talent To The Black Liberation Movement

Stop By
National Office
3106 Shattuck Ave.,
Berkeley, Calif.
Or Call
845-0103 or (4)

Leave Name, Address
& Telephone No.

Breakfast for School Children

TABLE 1. *Summary of the results of the analysis of variance for the effect of the type of the substrate on the growth of the larvae of the black fly (C. tritaeniorhynchos) in the laboratory conditions*

Each of these methods can be used to find the value of α for a given β . For example, for $\beta = 0.05$, the value of α is 0.11. The value of α for $\beta = 0.01$ is 0.05. The distribution is skewed to the right, as shown in Figure 1. The mean is 0.05, and the standard deviation is 0.025. The mean is 0.05, and the standard deviation is 0.025. The mean is 0.05, and the standard deviation is 0.025.

The National African American church movement is calling on all members and others who are concerned with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young men and women are educated. The schools and the present foundation of solid learning and this program developed a long time ago, have not only been broken down but of their schools are almost black people in the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, high schools, post-secondary, graduate, and where we are trying to raise children in the black community where mothers ignore us are asked to come forth to work and support black programs, small fish, girls, open, life, and what for the substance is where this is where it is to properly prepare our children for education, LETS DO IT NOW, Sayed this community program.

Those who wish to volunteer their work every morning on extra duty may call on call to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 300 Southern Ave., Hennessey or call Patrick Reed at their headquarters, 531, 5644, 403, 4014. Interested persons may also contact South Oakland Branch at 835-8214 or when up with their community people and officers for full and complete and better education of Black children.

[illegible]

T 250 400

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to prevent that rights are extended equally to all people. Get this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to rightfully take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes; you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so). But then do so, and at all times remember the fifth amendment.

7 If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

1. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct an exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about (This is a step far on auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search, therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

3. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 245-0103 (245-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible.

4. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsman's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time elaps^{es} on a weekend or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

COMING IN FEBRUARY...

A NATIONWIDE BIRTHDAY WEEKEND CELEBRATION FOR HUEY P. NEWTON

BLACK BOOKS



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10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXCEPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the school authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peers group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and wrongs, pursuing insensibly the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

"IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENT UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNION hasn't become a member of this UNION of BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual basis. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

BLACK STUDENTS UNION
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3186 SHATTUCK ST.
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

COMING SOON

THE BIOGRAPHY OF HUEY P. NEWTON

By Bobby Seale
and Those Who
Know Huey. With
an introduction by
Eldridge Cleaver.





MINISTER OF DEFENSE

HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND

P. O. BOX 318
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

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REMEMBER BROTHER MALCOM Born, May 19, 1925



Assassinated, Feb. 21, 1965

HUEY POSTER \$1.00

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MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON SAYS
"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN
THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE REVOLUTION - WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:

FOR DEFENSE
FOR FINANCING
FOR OFFICE WORK
FOR TRANSPORTATION
FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

Effective January 20th
7:30 am till 9:30 am
Monday thru Friday

at the
St. Augustine's Episcopal Church
2624 West St. Oakland
for information
call Father Neil at 534-6684
or
883-1076
Ruth Beckford Smith at 883-8211
or inquire at
Black Panther Party
National Headquarters
3706 Shattuck St.
Berkeley, Calif.



**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

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Knock, Knock
Who's There
"The Pig"
You Got A Warrant?
Don't Need One, I'm
Coming In
Bang! Bang!
Oink! Oink!
Off The Pig

Bobby Herron

